DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 177 900 FL 010 720

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TITLE Exploring the Pidginization Hypothesis: A Study of Three Fossilized Negation Systems.
PUB DATE Jun 77
NOTE 12p.; Paper presented at the Los Angeles Second Language Research Forum (1st, Los Angeles, California, February 11-13, 1977)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Learning; Cultural Factors; *English (Second Language); *Language Processing; Language Research; Language Skills; *Language Variation; Learning Theories; *Negative Forms (Language); *Pidgins; Psycholinguistics; *Second Language Learning; Social Factors; Sociolinguistics
IDENTIFIERS *Interlanguage

ABSTRACT

This report describes the use of the English negative by three adult second language learners, and relates the findings to Schumann's "pidginization hypothesis." This hypothesis states that a particular subject's restricted English was the result of his social and possibly also his psychological distance from English speakers. In order to provide insight into the question, interlanguage is considered here as legitimate pidginization. Each subject in the present study participated in three to four hours of taped conversation with the experimenter. The negative utterances were taken from the transcriptions and glossed according to their syntactical form. The data are discussed and compared with two other second language learners who also appear to exhibit social and/or psychological distance from the target language group. In the concluding stage of the study, a comparison is made of the findings with Schumann's pidginization hypothesis. A discrepancy is found between the data in this study and the pidginization hypothesis. Rather than finding a similar negative pattern among all subjects, certain differences were found in the level of correct acquisition of the negative particle. (AMH)

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EXPLORING THE PIDGINIZATION HYPOTHESIS: A STUDY OF THREE FOSSILIZED NEGATION SYSTEMS

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In the fall of 1973, Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann undertook a ten-month longitudinal research project in which they studied the untutored acquisition of English by six native Spanish speakers, 2 children, 2 adolescents and 2 adults. It is from this study that Schumann's Pidginization Hypothesis arose. In the ten months of research, Schumann's subject Alberto exhibited the least amount of linguistic development of all the subjects. It was felt that by accounting for his lack of learning, new insights could be gained in the area of second language acquistion. Schumann (1975) summarizes Alberto's syntax as being, "(a) reduced and simplified form of English in which the negative particle was held external to the verb, questions were uninverted, inflectional morphemes tended to be absent and auxiliary development was minimal." In order to account for his lack of development three potentially influential areas were examined: ability, social and psychological distance from English speakers, and age. Schumann points out that Alberto's English resembled pidgin languages, and observes that:

> "Pidginization occurs when a language is restricted to the communication of denotative referential information and is not used for integrative and expressive functions. Restriction to the communicative function results from the learner's social and/or psychological distance from the target language group." Thus, he hypothesizes "that Alberto's pidginized English was the result of his social and possibly also his psychological distance from English speakers."
>
> (Schumann, 1975, p. viii)

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I. PURPOSE OF THE PAPER

The purpose of this paper is to describe the use of the English negative by three adult 2L learners - an Italian, a Greek and a Japanese, and to relate these findings to the pidginization hypothesis. Each subject was chosen because he exhibited certain characteristics of social and/or psychological distance from the TL group. All three subjects have lived in the United States for more than twelve years, have received no formal education in English and speak their native languages at home. Furthermore, since they have had little opportunity to associate with members of the TL group, it appears that their English acquisition has been restricted to the communication function. Masa, my Japanese subject unconsciously explained this quite well when he said:

> ...but uh I don't have to use...use English you know morning uh...speak with my wife use Japanese my boys understand Japanese...I don't work outside stay home you know uh then someday I go to store for some groceries some eh something Japanese use a little bit English but that's all.

In addition, the data on the negation will be compared to that collected on two other 2LLs - Alberto, a native Spanish speaker (Schumann, 1975) and Angela, the wife of my Italian subject (Bruzzesse, 1976) - to ascertain whether under given social and possibly psychological conditions, the English negation of these learners has fossilized at the hypothesized pidgin stage in each subject's second language acquisition.

II. METHOD

Each subject participated in three to four hours of taped conversation with the experimenter. The majority of time was spent in spontaneous speech. However, elicitations were also employed in which the interviewer said a sentence and the subject was asked to negate it. The tapes were transcribed and the negative utterances from each subject's spontaneous conversation were pulled and glossed according to their syntactical form. The percentage of correct responses was established for each subject by dividing the number of correct responses by the total number of responses. Memorized chunks such as I don't know and the anaphoric no were not included. Elicited responses had to be tabulated differently since my subjects at times failed to understand the task required. This situation produced an abundance of forms but no substantially recognizable patterns. To account for this, correct responses were considered even if not correctly supplied in relation to the

original statement. For example, if the statement to be negated was I watch television, the desired response would be I don't watch television, but, if the subject said I couldn't watch television, it was considered correct. Another problem arose, however, when the auxiliary and the negative (aux-neg) were supplied correctly but the main V was incorrect, for example, I will not working on a factory. To account for this, two tabulations were made: 1) the degree to which aux-neg was supplied correctly with no attention paid to the main V; and 2) the degree to which the aux-neg and main V were correctly supplied. The total number correct was then divided by the total number of utterances to compute the percent correct for each category.

III. RESULTS

A general acquisition sequence of the English negative by Spanish speakers was described by Cazden, et. al. (1975). Schumann states that the subjects began by using No V (no + verb) constructions:

I no go.
I no see.

Then, the construction don't V (don't + verb) appeared,

I don't understand.
He don't like it.

However, the don't did not appear to be the analyzed do + negative construction, but merely an alternate form of No. Next, the subjects acquired the Aux-neg (auxiliary + negative) construction with the negative particle (n't, not), following the auxiliary. Is and can seemed to be the first auxiliaries used which assumed this form:

You can't tell her.
Somebody is not coming in.

The final stage appeared when the subjects learned the analyzed forms of don't (do not, doesn't, does not, didn't, did not):

It doesn't spin.
We didn't have a study period.

(Schumann, 1975)

Regarding my subjects, Guiseppe (Italian) exhibited the least amount of development yet seemed to have the most systematic negative system - No V was used continuously throughout. In his free conversation, there were 174 negative utterances with .60 (104/174) consisting of No V:

I no find
I no have
I no like

Don't V was used 12 times (.13) in which 5 could be glossed as I don't V :

I don't read
I don't touch

and 1 glossed as I V don't V:

I hope don't take

The remaining 6 involved a Wh-question form which appeared to be a memorized chunk due ot its repetitious nature:

Why don't you X

Further, Guiseppe used the aux-neg construction 35 times (.20) but employed only one form, can't, except for 5 couldn'ts and 1 is not:

He can't go
I can't tie
I couldn't sleep
It's not

In addition, an interesting pattern emerged in his auxiliary development in which have + no and no + have + no was used 8 times. However, the 4 utterances which used the latter, seemed to be an alternate form of the memorized chunk,

We have no X

created by the use of a double negative:

I no have no patience.

Guiseppe had no analyzed don't constructions. In addition, he used never V 23 times (.13) and 1 not V (.01) - all of which were correct:

But I never change
Ya never forget
Not like today

If we examine the negative utterances as a whole, we find that he employed correct negation .27 of the time. Further, the majority of incorrect utterances were no V which were used .60 of the time. It appears that his system of negation has not substantially progressed beyond the first stage of development as described by Schumann (1975) even though there are traces of stages two and three.

The elicited negatives seem to confirm this fact, since, out of 60 utterances, 49 consisted of no V, 2 never V (which were incorrect), and 9 anaphoric no's which were not counted. Consequently, all of his responses were incorrect and .82 of them consisted of the no V pattern.

It can be argued that the no V construction was caused by interference from his native language since negation in Italian is formed in precisely the same manner - the no being placed before the verb: Io non vado (= I will not go/I'm not going). It is interesting, however, that the negation of the auxiliary is also formed this way: Io non posso andare (= I can't go), yet he was able to produce the correct form in English, but only consistently with can't.

Ignatio (Greek) employed 94 negative utterances. These consisted of 23 no V constructions (.24):

No come to United States
No like to go to doctor

He also produced 33 don't V constructions, in which 30 were considered correct. It is interesting,that out of 33 don't V constructions, 9 were imperatives which employed the forms of:

don't do that
don't do X

Interference could also have played a part in the production of this form since, according to a Greek informant, negation in Greek is mainly achieved by placing the negative particle before the verb. Perhaps the fact that he is the father of two small children has something to do with the learning of the negative imperative form.

In addition, he used 14 aux-neg constructions which consisted of 5 can'ts, 1 can not, 1 couldn't, 5 is nots, 1 was not and 1 are not. They were all correctly supplied:

I can't go to United States
I can not put my foot
It's not a man
My partner was not wrong
You're not goin

If we now consider the correct usage of don't V (and its various forms), as a subset of the aux-neg system, we find that .50 of the time the aux-neg was supplied correctly.

It appears that Ignatio's system of negation is more complex with a variety of negative forms. Like Guiseppe, he uses never V but only .04 (4/94) of the time. He further expands this pattern by placing a subject in between the never and verb thereby forming the pattern of never + subject + V which was used .03 (3/94) of the time:

never I saw
never we have
never I tell her no

However, if these sentences were translated into Greek, they would be considered correct.

The patterns of V no and V not were also used a total of .17 (16/94) of the time with V no having the greatest usage. This construction manifested itself with the verb have (have + no and have + not). Out of the 16 utterances, 9 were correct. However, 8 of these were,

(I) have no time.

It can be argued that this is a memorized chunk. The remaining utterances were incorrect in which 5 used the pattern,

I have not X
I have not very much time to go to school.

This form would be considered correct British English but since Ignatio was only exposed to American English the chances of his acquiring the former is quite unlikely. Further, the correctly supplied forms of have + no were similar to Guiseppe's use of this form. It is interesting to note that Guiseppe's incorrect usage involved a double negative, no + have + no while Ignatio appeared to have substituted not for no. He choose not to use a double negative even though Greek, like Italian, uses double negatives quite frequently. Consequently, both groups of incorrect utterances appeared to have evolved from a memorized chunk. However, only the double negative pattern can be translated into either language and be considered correct.

The final negative pattern used by Ignatio consisted of not + (noun (adjective. He supplied this pattern 14 times in which 12 can be considered as coupla deletion:

Greeks people not special = Greek people are not special
Not my fault = It isn't/wasn't my fault
All words not Greek = All words aren't Greek

The remaining 2 involved; 1) not being substituted for the word now,

I read some but not I forget;

and, 2) a way to convey the concept of the word widow.

her not husband.

If we total Ignatio's correct utterances, we find that he supplied correct negation .51 of the time in free conversation. In addition, his responses to the elicited negatives seem to correspond with the results from his free conversation - .62 of the aux-neg forms were correct and .46 of the aux-neg + V constructions were correct.

With regard to the developmental sequence described by Schumann (1975), Ignatio seems to be a little more advanced than Guiseppe, since, he used the no V pattern only .24 of the time and applied the correct usage of the aux-neg .51 of the time. In sum, he used correct negation patterns .51 of the time. It can be argued that Ignatio's negation system, fossilized at a state of flux before the learner completely analyzed the correct usage of the negative particle in

English.

In spontaneous conversation, Masa (Japanese) showed a considerably higher level of development than the other subjects, employing no no V constructions. The aux-neg was supplied correctly .94 of the time - a total of 30 correct utterances out of 32. The majority of utterances employed the form can't (22/33) with a minimal usage of the forms: can not and couldn't. The copula was also used correctly in the forms of won't, wasn't, is not and am not. The only incorrect form was is no:

I can't help
They can't help
I wasn't home
I won't change
*That's no baby

It can also be argued that he had acquired analyzed don't, since, out of 28 utterances which required the do-support, 23 were supplied correctly. Thusly, .85 of the time the do-support was correct:

No, she didn't come
I don't think that much spoit
He doesn't understand English

Aside from these correct forms, Masa also used another negative pattern, no + noun which can be glossed as:

X cop no noun / X have no noun

This pattern was used 16 times in such utterances as:

no machine = There were no machines.
no power = They have no power.
no soldier = (There are no soldiers
(They have no soldiers.
no rain = There is no rain.

In addition, a memorized chunk, not much X, was used 6 times:

not much different
not much stronger

It appears that neither of these two preceding structures were caused by interference, since, in Japanese, the negative particle is always placed at the end of the sentence.

His elicited responses had a slightly lower percentage correct, but perhaps this was due to the fact that he had trouble understanding the task required. Out of 82 elicited responses, the aux-neg was supplied correctly in 60 occasions or .73 of the time. When the main verb was considered (aux-neg + V), .60 of the responses were considered correct.

Masa applied correct negation .88 of the time. Further, his negative development appears to have fossilized at stages three and four of Schumann's developmental sequence with no apparent traces of stages one and two in his free conversation.

IV. COMPARISON OF FINDINGS

In this section, I will compare the findings from my subject's with two other second language learners who also appear to exhibit social and/or psychological distance from the TL group.

Alberto, in a 10-month study conducted by Cazden et al. (1973), exhibited no development beyond the no V and don't V stages. Schumann (1975) states that, "Alberto either never learned to place the negative after the auxiliary or that he resisted doing so. Instead, he consistently placed the negative before the verb and did not move it behind the first auxiliary element as required in English," (p. 18). Alberto's development appears to coincide with Guiseppe's even though the latter has lived in this country for more than 25 years. Each subject consistently employed no V and don't V failing to develop aux-neg and analyzed don't.

Angela (Bruzzesse, 1976), Guiseppe's wife, also exhibited a similar developmental pattern. The No V category comprised .76 (180/232) of her total negative utterances. In comparison, Guiseppe employed the No V .60 (104/174) of the time and Ignatio used No V .24 of the time whereas Masa had virtually no No V constructions in his speech.

It can be argued that with Ignatio, Angela and Guiseppe interference played a large role in the apparent fossilization at the No V stage, since Greek and Italian both place the negative particle before the verb. And, since in Japanese the negative particle is placed at the end of the sentence, this could account for Masa's apparent development beyond the No V stage.

With regards to aux-neg development, all the subjects except Alberto used some form of the aux-neg. Angela employed can't .21 (49/232) of the time and Guiseppe .20 (35/174) of the time, however, Guiseppe expanded this structure to employ 5 couldn'ts whereas Angela used only can't. Ignatio although using the aux-neg only 14 times, employed the copula forms of is not, was not and are not as well as using can'ts couldn't and can not. Masa surpasses them all by employing the aux-neg correctly .94 of the time with the form can't receiving the most usage. Further, auxiliary constructions were extended to include the forms of won't and am not. It is interesting to note that Guiseppe, Ignatio and Masa used can't consistently in their aux-neg constructions acquired by second language learners.

V. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was three-fold: 1) to provide study of the fossilized negation systems in the untutored English of three adult 2L learners; 2) to compare their negative development with two other second language learners of English; and subsequently, 3) to relate the syntactical findings to Schumann's pidginization hypothesis (1975). Since items 1 and 2 have been previously covered, the final question remains. - Is their negative development similar to the forms of negation found in pidgin languages?

For the purpose of providing some insight into this question, I will take the position argued by Samarin, Hall and Schumann who would accept the interlanguage of second language learners as legitimate pidginization. Decamp (1971, p. 20) quotes Hall on this issue:

> A pidgin normally owes its origin to relatively casual, short-term contact between groups which do not have a language in common...a pidgin can arise--on occasion, even in the space of only a few hours--whenever an emergency calls for communication on a minimal level of comprehension.

In addition, Hymes (1971, p. 69) describes Samarin's position:

> ...but whereas imperfect learning of a second language is set aside by Whinnom, for Samarin, memory loss of one's language, field work jargons, argots, restricted codes (Bernstein), and the like are all of interest, inasmuch as they are instances, not of pidgins necessarily, but of a process of pidginization, which he defines as any consistent reduction of the functioning of a language both in its grammar and its use.
>
> (Schumann, 1975, p. 69)

Opposing arguments by Whinnom (1971) and Flick and Gilbert (TESOL Convention, 1976) are too involved for the length of this presentation. However, they will be covered in a forth-coming Master's thesis to be presented by Agnello in June, 1977.

In his dissertation, Schumann (1975) cites various studies conducted on pidgin languages in which findings on the negative particle were similar to Alberto's negation pattern. Two such studies were: 1) Leachman and Hall (1975) - They discussed the features of American Indian Pidgin English (AIPE) and concluded that among various other distinct syntactic features, predicates are made negative by placing no before the center of the predicate (he no run away); and, 2) Clyne (1975) - He described the English pidgin spoken by immigrant industrial workers to Australia. The workers came from various countries in Europe and the Middle East and spoke a variety of native languages (Italian, Hungarian, Yugoslav, Arabic, Greek, Turkish, etc.) however, a common set of pidginized forms characterized their

English speech. Among these forms was the use of the uniform negative, no, e. g. (I no come in the outside), (Schumann, 1975, p. 63, 64).

Examining our five subjects, we find that three exhibited this type of form for the majority of their negative utterances: 1) Alberto, showed no development beyond the No V form; 2) Angela employed No V .76 of the time; and, 3) Guiseppe used No V .60 of the time. However, Ignatio only used the No V pattern .24 of the time while Masa used virtually no No V constructions.

Further, given similar social and/or psychological factors among the subjects, the question now arises as to why some subjects - Alberto, Angela, Guiseppe and to some extent Ignatio - exhibited a negation system similar to that of pidgin languages; whereas, Masa's negation system was not similar. Since my findings appear to place Schumann's Pidginization Hypothesis in question, three plausible explanations are offered for the cause of this discrepancy: 1) each subject was chosen because they appeared to exhibit certain social and/or psychological attitudes which Schumann (1975) hypothesized could contribute to pidginization in second language acquisition. Perhaps however, these attitudes appeared similar only on a surface level. And, if one could delve deeper into the psyche of each 2L learner, differences might become apparent which would cause an alteration in the syntactic development; 2) as previously discussed, differences in native languages could facilitate or hinder 2L learning. For example, all of the subject's native languages except Japanese place the negative particle before the verb - hence, the common use of No V by the subjects. However, the Japanese subject exhibited no No V patterns in his speech but instead employed aux-neg correctly most of the time. Thus, it can be argued that since Japanese places the negative at the end of the sentence, the inability to transfer from Japanese to English could possibly facilitate the correct learning of the English aux-neg system; and, 3) differences in intelligence levels could play an important role in learning a 2L proficiently.

In conclusion, rather than finding a negative pattern similar between all subjects, we find certain differences in the level of correct acquisition of the negative particle. Guiseppe, like Alberto and Angela employed No V for the majority of utterances. However, Ignatio seemed to use this pattern only part of the time while Masa failed to employ it at all. Thus, it is at this point where future research must be done on the pidginization hypothesis. From my findings, it can be argued, that pidginization is possible, however perhaps we need to broaden our scope so that 2L learners like Masa who appear to fit the social and/or psychological criteria but who fail to exhibit the expected syntactic development can be accounted for. An interesting concept which could account for this type of 2L learner was offered by Bickerton (1975) who suggests the existence of a second language acquisition continuum similar to the post-creole continuum. Within this framework, pidginization can be viewed as the lower point on the SLA continuum.

Hopefully, as more syntactic structures are examined in this study and in others, we will be able to delve more deeply into this theory and, in addition, by placing the 2L learner's interlanguage along a continuum, the result might give a more complete picture of the process of second language acquisition.

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